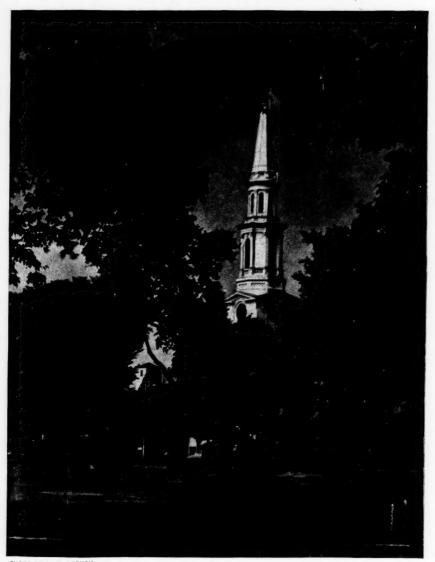
BERRARY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



LEXINGTON BATTLE GREEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

LEGALLY NOT A CHRISTIAN NATION — PROTECT NATURAL RIGHTS — LIBERTY A DIVINE RIGHT SCRAPPING LIBERTY — CHALLENGE TO AMERICA

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THE CHURCH IN POLITICS," by C. S. Longacre, is a book that should be in every American home. It deals with a vital question that threatens the overthrow of American ideals of civil government. It is filled with irresistible logic and irrefutable facts. It deals wth fundamental principles, historical data, soul-gripping incidents, and a timely warning of the dangers which threaten our free American institutions, which should not go unheeded. The chapter headings are: 1. A Burning Issue, 2. Aims of the Lord's Day Alliance, 3. Origin, History, and Object of Sunday Laws, 4. Compulsory Church Attendance on Sunday, 5. Why Sunday Laws Are Wrong, 6. Religious Persecution Under Sunday Laws, 7. Aims of the Founding Fathers, 8. Government and Religion. Every reader of Liberty magazine will want this interesting book, whose author is the editor of Liberty.

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THE DIFFUSION OF INTELLIGENCE

EVERY American should be intelligent concerning the principles of religious liberty, for they are among our most precious possessions. Religious freedom, unknown to the Old World, and unrecognized in many countries today, should be cherished and protected by every loyal American citizen. Forces are at work in our beloved land which would rob us of this blood-bought heritage given us by the founders of our Republic.

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HE LEGAL STATUS OF CHURCH STATE RELATIONSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, WITH SPECIAL HE LEGAL THE SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, is the title of a new book of 332 pages, published by the University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. Minn. Alvin W. Johnson, Executive Dean and Professor of Political Science, Union College, is the author. This is a book of great value, especially for judges and lawyers, as well as for all who have to do with the making of laws and ordinances governing State-supported and private schools. In this book are gathered the principal court decisions that have been handed down in the conflict between sectarian forces and the champions of that religious liberty which is presumably guaranteed by the American Constitution. Part I is given over to State legislation and court decisions pertaining to Bible reading in the public schools. Part II deals with public aid of sectarian schools, the use of public school buildings for religious purposes, the right to teach languages other than English in the public schools, compulsory at-tendance laws, and the teaching of religion in Indian schools. One chapter summarizes the "anti-evolution laws" of various States. Part III deals with Sunday legislation, and cites the judgments given in many States for and against the constitutionality of such laws. Many eminent authorities, both political and ecclesiastical, are quoted pro and con on the subject of Sunday legislation. The struggle for religious freedom and the history of Sunday legislation make a most interesting story as set forth in this book. This is a book that ought to be in the library of every one who loves the American ideals of civil and religious liberty, so that they may obtain a better understanding and conception of truth, law, and religious freedom.

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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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EDITOR
CHARLES S. LONGACRE
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
HEBER H. VOTAW
MILWARD C. TAFT

MANAGING EDITOR
CALVIN P. BOLLMAN
ASSOCIATE
MANAGING EDITOR
THOMAS M. FRENCH

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This Is NOT a CHRISTIAN NATION

IN an address delivered recently in the Religious Liberty Forum of the First Baptist church of Washington, D. C., John Garland Pollard, former governor of Virginia, said:

"Notwithstanding the dicta of some of the courts to the contrary, this is not a Christian nation except in the sense that Christianity is the prevailing religion of the people.

"This is not a Christian nation in any legal sense, for Christians in this country are entitled to no special rights or privileges.

"This is not a Christian nation in any religious sense, for religion is strictly a personal matter. Men are not saved by nations, nor by states, nor by races, nor by groups, nor by families, but as individuals. Salvation is not a wholesale transaction. It is strictly retail, one by

"These views I have expressed are not inconsistent with my firm belief that the church is by far the greatest single factor in the success of the state. But history shows that both church and state flourish most when they are separate and distinct. The reason they do not mix is that the law rests on force, while religion rests on love. The state owes the church an undying debt of gratitude for creating and maintaining that sentiment for righteousness without which all laws are impotent.

"Lincoln truly said:

"'Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail: without it,



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nothing can succeed. Consequently he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed.'

"It is the function of the church to create and foster a love of right so that its followers may seek noble objectives in all things, including government; but it is not the function of the church to choose between the several legal means proposed to accomplish those ends clearly within the jurisdiction of the state.

"The church and the state are not enemies. They have many purposes in common, but they travel along different routes. The one pursues the path of loving persuasion: the other, the path of force. The church seeks to make men inwardly good; the state, to make them outwardly good. The one uses the sword of the Spirit: the other a sword of steel. The church must not tell the state how to change the actions of men. The state must not tell the church how to change the hearts of men."

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PROCLAIM 1 iberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Lev. 25:10. While this scripture has to do with the Hebrew economy of ancient times, it has in it the germ of a great fundamental principle applicable to all people in all ages.

It has always been in the mind of God that men and women should be free. that they should enjoy the fullest freedom and liberty as long as they recognized and respected the same right for others. God never designed that either the souls or the bodies of mankind should be

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shackled. Never! There is not a word in all the Scriptures that justifies or sanctions in the least de-

gree the slavery of either the mind or the body. On the contrary, the teaching of both the Old and the New Testament on this point is exactly the opposite. It was His wise purpose, His divine plan, that man should be free, with full liberty to seek his own happiness, and to exercise every gift of God and every opportunity for growth and development into the full stature of

A Divine Right

By George A. Williams



"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Lev. 25:10.

sons and daughters of the God whose creatures they are.

The divine right to the possession and exercise of liberty, both civil and religious, cannot be too strongly emphasized in these days when this principle of truth seems to be lost sight of, and the inherent rights of men and women are so

lightly regarded.

The argument that fundamental and inherent rights be set may aside in times of emergency, is a dangerous doctrine, and calculated to destroy every vestige of individual freedom and liberty. It matters not whence this

teaching comes, whether professedly in the interest of the church or of the state, its fruits are

evil, because it contravenes the principles of God's government, and does violence to the gospel of Jesus Christ, who died to make all men free.

That liberty is a divine right was recognized by the founders of our government when they caused to be written in the Declaration of Independence these words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And in the preamble to the Constitution one of the declared purposes of the Constitution is "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

That these pronouncements are in accord with the divine principles of heaven there can be no doubt, and were so held by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and many other great American statesmen all through the years of our history, who have given expression to their adherence to the doctrine of individual liberty, both religious and civil.

Time was when liberty and freedom was a familiar subject for discussion, when there were heard voices from pulpit and forum proclaiming the virtues and values of liberty, both religious and civil. Liberty has been the watchword of both State and nation, and we have rested secure in the faith that these imperishable principles embodied in the Constitution would never fail us.

Have they failed us, or are we recreant to the trust imposed in us? Are the people of America standing loyally in support of those divine principles of liberty and equality that have contributed so largely to the growth and prosperity of our nation? I am one of those who believe with all my soul that our government was founded on the

divine principles of liberty, justice, and equality. Divine principles never change. They never expire by limitation. They remain the same through all the ages. Men may change in their attitude toward truth, but truth never changes.

America is at the crossroads. Not only is there seen an indifference, a lack of interest, on the part of the masses, but there is very evident a decided drift away from the ancient moorings. Serious-minded and thoughtful citizens should take warning. It is the history of nations that liberty once lost is never regained. We are on the verge of an elective despotism than which there is no worse tyrant. Civil rights long established, and made secure, as was thought by their inclusion in the fundamental law of the land, are being trampled upon by those in authority. It is high time that once again there shall be heard throughout the land voices declaring unequivocally in favor of liberty as a divine right.

THE Lord did not promise to legislate temptation out of the world, but to give power to overcome evil and grace to endure trial.

MIN MIN MIN

CHRISTIANS should level their differences up instead of leveling them down, in bringing about Christian unity.



If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the Constitution tramed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny.—Sparks's "writings of George Washington," Vol. XII, p. 155.

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Gunston Hall, the Beautiful Home of One of Virginia's Early Patriots, George Mason.

The Old Dominion has furnished the cause of liberty with many other patriots, prominent among whom were Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Henry, and Marshall.

SCRAPPING of LIBERTY

Fraught With Dire Consequences

By William A. Westworth

It is possible to make a first-class hypocrite by law, but it is impossible to make a genuine Christian through any legal code, either civic or moral. Some may, through fear of consequences, go through a form of acquiescence in any legal restriction, but unless such obedience is prompted by a desire to obey because it is right so to do, the development is a mere formality, and breeds contempt and hypocrisy.

Religious liberty involves far more than the privilege of subscribing to and obedience to rules of any particular creed. There are those who demand religious liberty simply because they desire to conform to some particular mode of worship; and if they are granted the right so to conform, they are content to enjoy that liberty.

But true religious liberty goes much deeper than that. It involves the question of free choice, and is fundamental both in the rights of man and in the divine plan of redemption. Every man

is endowed with the right to determine his own course in all things which affect eternal life. Whether his decision is right or wrong, the making of that decision is his own prerogative, and one which no person has the right to contravene.

However, from the earliest days of human existence, there seems to have prevailed the notion that a great service was being rendered to the eternal God by compelling wanderers to give at least an outward compliance to what the legalist thought was the correct form of worship.

Down through the ages there has come a record of horrible persecution arising from the attempt to compel the minority to subscribe to the religious tenets of the majority. Torture has been meted out to both pagan and Christian, to both Jew and Gentile, to compel subservience to a strained idea of what would be pleasing to the deity to be honored. The attempted super-

vision of man's free choice has weighed the world down with abuses and suffering. -

Discriminatory laws have been secured, and in their enforcement untold

agonies have been dealt to those whose conscience would not allow them to submit. The attempt to substitute a gospel of force for the gospel of love has not only brought about unmeasured misery, but has driven too many away from the truth of the story of God's love to fallen man. Men have measured the attempts of bigots who, by law, were forcing on others their own religious formulas, and have decided that if that were Christianity, they did not want it at all.

The atrocities of the Dark Ages, with all their horrors of religious persecution, were all "according to law;" but let us not forget that it was a blind subservience to wrong law and wrong interpretation that led Christ to the cross. Cried the priests of His time, "We have a law, and by our law He ought to die." Yes, Christ was legally murdered.

It was because the founding fathers of this country so well understood the principles of true liberty that they gave expression on so many occasions to what they felt were the subscribed limits beyond which civil government has no right to pass. Jefferson well declared that the true office of the legislature "is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take

none of them from us." Madison said that "it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties." And when even a majority presumes to invade the consciences of men, we can-

> not but recall the words of President Grant, "Keep church and state forever separate."

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· Nor can we confound liberty, a God-given right. with mere toleration. Toleration is always nothing but a compromise. It is going 50-50 with the devil. It admits the right to It is persecute. generally granted only for some political advantage. It is altogether contrary to the right of free choice, upon which all true religion is founded. On this very point of toleration Benjamin

Franklin well said, speaking of those who accepted toleration, "They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

The present-day demand to scrap personal liberty is reaping dire consequences. The "common welfare" cry is enlisted against man's right to free choice. Conscience must give way to a majority rule, with the net result that we are facing a crime situation unknown before in our history.

Following the years of depression we are entering a new era, and new experiments are being tried without regard to inherent rights. Individual rights are being scrapped for what is claimed to be the common good. Re-

(Continued on page 23)

Jefferson well remarked that the true office of the legislature "is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and

In these uncertain times, it is well to be reminded also of the words of Madison: "It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties."

to take none of them

from us.'

LIBERTY, 1935

GOVERNMENT

Ordained to Protect NATURAL RIGHTS

By A. R. Bell

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No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent."

These are the words of the immortal Lincoln. And how fitting they are to the fact! What a champion he was of Constitutional liberty. He believed in "the common right of humanity." He believed in the principes of the great doctrine of human rights, and he never deviated a hair's breadth from them.

His statement as noted above was simply his own peculiar telling construction and resetting of the words of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

This is the principle in constitutional government that marks the individual instead of the government as sovereign. And this is true Americanism, though so few know it.

I am reminded here of a letter written by Thomas Jefferson, in which he took the position that even our legislators did not fully understand the principle upon which the superstructure of our government is built. He said: "Our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power; that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us,"



E. J. HALL
Our National Capitol

We are a long way this side of June 7, 1816, the date of this letter, yet as we view some of the things that are being imposed upon us, we wonder if any progress has been made on the part of our legislators as to "the rightful limits of their power."

The whole theory of government, as we understand it, is for the preservation of our natural, inalienable, Godgiven rights, and to see that we are protected in the enjoyment of them. And what are these rights? They are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the equal rights of citizens; a republican form of government, which, in the words of Lincoln, is "government of the people, by the people, for the people;" no religious test for holding of office; "no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free

exercise thereof;" free speech; free press; the right to peaceably assemble, and the right of petitioning the government for a redress of grievances; the right to be secure in our persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures: nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property

without due process of law

The pursuit of happiness is in the free, full enjoyment of these natural, inalienable constitutional rights and privileges. This is constitutional liberty. And on this matter of constitutional liberty is the understanding of the words of Lincoln, "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent." In this is the difference between what civil government was ordained for and what

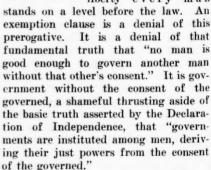
some think it was ordained for. is a statement from the Christian Statesman, the organ of a great union of Protestant claurches banded together in the National Reform Association: "What is the purpose of civil government? Is it not to enforce the moral law? If people would keep the moral law voluntarily, there would be no need to use force with reference to it; but since they will not, there must be a power with authority to enforce it." It does not need a prophet's vision to picture a diabolical religio-political tyranny in the working out of this, as wicked as ever cursed the world.

Civil government was ordained that every man should recognize in his fellow man the equal right with himself to enjoy every right and privilege that he claims for himself, and that he and the other fellow should protect each other in the enjoyment of them. Thomas Jefferson expressed the principle right

when he said: "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none." This means that each individual should see to it that the other, as well as himself, is sovereign in his rights. In the very nature of the case, individually or collectively, as in representative administration, no human power or legislator

has the right to abridge or destroy these natural "Every man equities. has the right to do whatsoever he will, provided that in the doing thereof he infringes not the equal rights of any other man." This is constitutional liberty.

We hear of "grants" and "exemption clauses" permitted at times by those in authority. law that calls for exemptions is out of harmony with the spirit of free institutions. Under constitutional liberty every man



An exemption clause in a law that touches our inalienable and fundamental rights marks that law as unconstitu-It should never find a place tional. among the statutes of a free people. Exemption clauses simply mean toleration. Their history is mostly connected with religious legislation, all of which is absolutely wrong, and entirely out of place. Toleration is a concession which can easily be withdrawn. Exemption is



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an evil principle, dangerous to rights and liberties, and in the end can only mean persecution.

If we are a free people, equal before the law, supreme in our sovereignty, who may assume to grant us privileges that are ours already?

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The fact that so many of the States of our Union have upon their statute books laws which have exemption clauses in them, proves the worth of the statement before mentioned, that "our legislators [today as well as back there in 1816] are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power; that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us."

Addressing the Virginia Convention and discussing the Federal Constitution, Patrick Henry said: "You are not to inquire how your trade may be increased, nor how you are to become a great and powerful people, but how your liberties can be secured; for liberty

ought to be the direct end of your government. . . . The great and direct end of government is liberty. Secure our liberty and privileges, and the end of government is answered. If this be not effectually done, government is an evil."

To claim the right to grant rights and privileges that belong alike to all and are inalienable, is to pervert the doctrine of human rights, deny the principle that all men are created equal, flout the

fact that this nation was right when, at its very inception, it took account of the individual, and in the matter of natural, inalienable, and God-given rights, counted him supreme.

The tendency of the hour is to forget. The natural inherent rights that we enjoy are vested rights. We hold them by a tenure that is subject to no contingency, and we should take alarm at the first experiment to tamper with them.

Less than eighteen months ago there was delivered an opinion in the District of Columbia Supreme Court that "the day has passed when absolute vested rights in contract or property are to be regarded as sacrosanct or above the law."

It has been said that "the deterioration of a government begins almost always by the decay of its principles." When newly created organizations and groups at the seat of government "become the custodians of individual rights and liberties which have been historic," the time has come when thoughtful men should ponder very seriously whither we are drifting, and if this "decay" has set in. Mr. Calvin Coolidge, our late President, felt the drift of things in this country when he said:

"About the Declaration there is a finality that is exceedingly restful. It is often asserted that the world has made a great deal of progress since 1776, that we have had new thought and new experiences which have given us a great advance over the people of that day, and that we may very well discard their conclusions for something more modern. But that reasoning cannot be applied to this great charter. If all men are created equal. that is final. If they

are endowed with inalienable rights, that is final. If governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, that is final. No advance, no progress, can be made beyond these propositions. If any one wishes to deny

(Continued on page 13)

"About the Declaration of Independence] there is a finality that is exceedingly restful. . . . If all men are created equal, that is final. If they are endowed with inalienable rights, that final. If governments de-rive their just power from the consent of the governed, No advance, that is final. no progress, can be made beyond these propositions. If any one wishes to deny their truth, . . . the only . is not fordirection . ward, but backward toward the time when there was no equality, no rights of the individual, no rule of the people."



Legal Religion .

. ANTI-CHRISTIAN

By C. P. Bollman

THAT civil legislation on religious questions is inimical to liberty of conscience, has often been shown in these columns. And that any interference whatever by the civil power is fully as inimical to the work of the gospel itself may be just as clearly shown.

The gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ is not merely a code of morals for the regulation of outward conduct; it is the mystery of God for the moral transformation of the human soul, through the divine power that resides in that gospel, and which accompanies it, when carried in humble reliance on that power and on that power alone.

What the Scriptures Teach

The Scriptures teach that the gospel is the mystery of God for the regeneration of the natural, or carnal, mind, which, it is declared, "is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please

God. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." Rom. 8:7-9. This is a most positive statement that all true moral reformation is the work of the Spirit of God; and the Spirit accomplishes this through the gospel, which is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Rom. 1:16.

Not only has God ordained the means by which moral reformation shall be wrought in the human soul, namely, by faith in the gospel, but He has also ordained the means by which the gospel shall be brought to the notice of men. not by force, not by means of civil law, but "by the foolishness of preaching." 1 Cor. 1:21. And so the Saviour sent His disciples forth into a hostile world under the commission: "Go ve therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo. I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Matt. 28:19, 20.

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The only guaranty of success given the apostles was the presence of their Lord by His Spirit; and by the power of this Spirit, through the word of God, they went forth "conquering and to conquer," making converts not only without the aid of the civil power, but in the face of bitter opposition by the rulers of this world. Jesus Christ, who could have prayed the Father and He would have given Him more than twelve legions of angels, could have commissioned those heavenly messengers to overcome by their mighty power all the opposition of wicked men and demons. He could have compelled men to accept the gospel, but such was not the divine plan. As one writer has expressed it:

"The government of God is not, as Satan would make it appear, founded upon a blind submission, an unreasoning control. It appeals to the intellect and the conscience. 'Come now, and let us reason together,' is the Creator's invitation to the beings He has made. God does not force the will of His creatures. He cannot accept homage that is not willingly and intelligently given. A mere forced submission would prevent all real development of mind or character; it would make man a mere automaton. Such is not the purpose of the Creator. He desires that man, the crowning work of His creative power, shall reach the highest possible development. He sets before us the height of blessing to which He desires to bring us, through this grace. He invites us to give ourselves to Him, that He may work His will in us. It remains for us to choose whether we will be set free from the bondage of sin, to share the glorious liberty of the sons of God."

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It was not without reason that God made man a free moral agent, and it is likewise not without reason that the Creator leaves him free. In no other way could God have been the recipient of loving, willing service from intelligent creatures. Without the power of choice there could be no moral development, no approximation to the divine standard of character, no such thing as putting on Christ, and no possibility of being transformed into the same image from glory to glory.

What men need to understand is the true power of the will. It is a citadel that God Himself will not invade. He invites, He beseeches, but He does not coerce. He implants in the heart of every man the desire to be better than he is and to do better than he does, and then He freely offers to make him better, and thus give him the power to do better. But it is for the recipient of these favors to choose to receive them. When man desires them, God gives them, not before; for if so given, they would not be used. But when the soul yields to its Creator, the whole nature is brought under the control of the Divine Spirit, the affections are centered upon God, and the life is in harmony with His will. But such a change is never produced by force.

The gospel is the power of God to bring about this change; it is "the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ." Eph. 3:9. "Even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to His saints: to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory." Col. 1:26, 27. "To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." Eph. 3:10, 11.

And this purpose in Christ concerning those who give themselves to Him, is to present them "to Himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." Eph. 5:27. But it is only the willing and obedient who shall eat the good of the land.

God is the only source of moral power. To use a homely but forcible

(Continued on page 23)

A SUNDAY LAW REFERENDUM



THE city council of Charlotte, North Carolina, has decided to give the people of that city the right of a referendum to decide what kind of Sunday the majority wants. In an editorial in the Charlotte Observer, under date of April 23, the writer says that the human mind splits a thousand ways on this matter. The following excerpts are quite i.luminating upon this subject:

"It is impossible to divide the thought of any community on Sunday laws into two classes, the one specifically wanting one kind of observance and the other another kind.

"There are majorities within minorities and minorities within majorities, and such a general jumble of opinion that a satisfactory regimentation is beyond reach.

"The reason for this is inherent. There is an element in the population to which Sunday means nothing at all in the way of a moral institution. Such people never look at it through any other than secular eyes. They put no spiritual sanction upon the Lord's day. It is no more than one of the seven. . . .

"The enigma, however, is not presented so much by such a group—the unmoral element in a community. It is the people who believe in the Sabbath, regard it as essential, and accept it as an inherited divine institution, who present the greater problem, the morally minded, those who at least give some answer to their spiritual aspirations.

"They are unable to satisfy themselves as to what constitutes a proper observance, as to how they can square themselves in their conduct with their convictions as to the nature and purpose of the day.

"Righteous people, these are, who are bothered in formulating for themselves a rule of conduct for the Sabbath, and who, therefore, are not helpful in framing and formulating governmental prohibitions for the whole of a population or to meet the ends of moral acceptability.

"When they go back to ascertain for their guidance what the Founder of their Christian faith has to say about the issue, they are appalled at His silence.

"Jesus came notably near never having a single word to say in reference to the manner of the observance of the Sabbath. . . .

"He laid down the broad principle that 'the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' and let it go at that, as if He was willing to leave to the enlightened conscience of man to dig out for himself the grooves in which he would run in obedience to that general philosophy.

"When His blistering critics hopped on Him for what they thought was a gross violation of their Sabbath observance, He turned upon them with a withering scorn to inform them that this is a matter to be determined not so much by conformity to a given set of rules, as by conscience.

"If one is looking to that source for information on this question, one must be content to come back only with the general enlightenment that so far as Jesus was concerned, as to this question or any other, He was on the side of whatever is humanly helpful and that will minister to human improvement.

"And He is against everything that will not correlate itself to these great, magnificent

"If a man's Sabbath does not conspire to this objective, then it is being kept contrarily to the Christ way. . . .

"The source of final authority is not in books nor statutes nor prohibitions nor conventions, but the inner monitors that have been implanted in men.

"The controls are internal, and not in the hands of policemen and constables.

"The sanctions are to be provided from the spiritual perceptions and apprehensions, and not from the conference of man's intellectuality....

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"Organized religion has never been able to unify the mind of man on its cardinal verities. "It has broken itself up into more than 200 different faiths when touching even the great, vital pillars of testimony and of belief."

Christ did not need to lay down rules concerning the observance of the Sabbath day, for they were already set forth in God's law. But the observance of Sunday, the first day of the week, never had any divine sanction in either the Old or the New Testa-Christ never once in all His teachings mentioned the first day of the week, much less commanded it to be observed. He did say, however, that "not one jot or tittle" of God's eternal and immutable law should ever "pass away" or be changed. Why should men, then, be compelled to observe it under duress of the police power? God never intended that any of His own divine institutions, which He Himself instituted and commanded to be observed, should ever be enforced by the civil magistrate. God accepts only freewill service, which emanates from the heart instead of from the head. The people, therefore, have a right to repeal these religious laws, which should never have been placed upon the civil statute

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The reason why Sunday laws are so obnoxious is because they are un-American, unjust, unfair, partial, intolerant, antiquated, and unchristian. The nonreligious citizens number more than the religious, and the state should not compel these nonprofessors of religion to act on Sunday as if they were religious when they are not. It makes either hypocrites or martyrs of them, but never Christians. Since the religious sects cannot agree among themselves as to which day should be observed as holy time, nor as to the manner of its observance, the state should not attempt to settle such a controversy by law. It ought to repeal every religious law now upon the civil statute books, and thereafter remain forever neutral upon all religious questions. Religious liberty and equality of privileges can

exist only where the church and the state are completely separated and legally divorced.

C. S. L.

Government Ordained to Protect Natural Rights

(Continued from page 9)

their truth or their soundness, the only direction in which he can proceed historically is not forward, but backward toward the time when there was no equality, no rights of the individual, no rule of the people. Those who wish to proceed in that direction cannot lay claim to progress. They are reactionary. Their ideas are not more modern but more ancient than those of the revolutionary fathers. . . . The rights of the individual are held sacred and protected by constitutional guaranties which even the government itself is bound not to violate."

"God give us men. A time like this demands Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;

Men whom the lust of office does not kill; Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy; Men who possess opinions and a will; Men who love honor; men who will not lie,"

THE despot prevented any outery against his abuses by shutting up every mouth with a legal gag.

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Religious emotionalism, when it becomes intense, runs into moralistic intolerance by law.

May May May

When the king and the priest form an alliance, its objective is to destroy individual freedom in the realm of religion.

Tyrants can fetter and shackle the tenement of clay, but the mind and soul cannot be imprisoned.



"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

on SUNDAY LAWS

THE following speech was delivered by William Lloyd Garrison at a convention in the city of Boston, March 23 and 24, 1848, favoring the repeal of all Sunday laws:

"Of all the assumptions on the part of legislative bodies, that of interfering between a man's conscience and his God is the most insupportable and the most inexcusable. For what purpose do we elect men to go to the general court? Is it to be our lawgivers on religious matters? Shall we ask of that body when we may work, how we may work, or where we may work? Is it a part of its constitutional power and prerogative to determine that point for us?

"This passing a law forbidding me or you to do on a particular day what is in itself right, on the ground that that day, in the judgment of those who make the enactment, is more holy than another; this exercise of power, I affirm, is nothing better than sheer usurpation. It is the spirit which in all ages has persecuted those who have been loyal to God and their consciences. It is a war upon conscience, and no religious conclave or political assembly ever yet carried on that war successfully to the end. You cannot, by any enactments, bind the consciences of men, nor force men into obedience to what God requires.

"Who wants to be persecuted on account of his own conscientious views? I will ask the first-day Sabbatarian, Do you claim a right to entertain your views, without molestation, in regard to the holiness of time? Most assuredly. How do you make it out that the first day of the week is the Sabbath? believe it to be so; and if it is not, to my own Master I stand or fall. Under a government which avowedly tolerates all beliefs, I claim the right, as a firstday Sabbatarian, to keep that day as a Sabbath.' Well, I do not assail that right. I claim the right also to have my own views of the day; the right to sanctify the first, second, or third, or all days, as I think proper. Now I turn to that first-day Sabbatarian, and ask him how he dares to assume infallible judgment against my belief; how he dares to dictate to me to keep the day which he regards as holy, and to say, 'If you do not obey me, I will put my hands into your pocket, and take out as much as I please in the shape of a fine; or if I find nothing there, I will put you in prison; or if you resist enough to require it, I will shoot you dead'? How dare he do this? If he is not a ruffian, is he a Christian? Talk of the spirit of justice animating the bosom of the man who comes like a highwayman with, 'Do, or die!' Who made him a ruler over other men's consciences?

"In a government which is based on equality, we must have equal rights. No men, however sincere, are to wield forceful authority over others who dissent from them in regard to religious faith and observance. The case is so plain that it does not need an argument! and I am confident that, in the course of a few years, there will not be a Sabbatical enactment left unrepealed in the United States, if in any part of Christendom. It belongs to the tyrannical legislation which formerly sent men to the stake, in the name of God and for His glory, because they did not agree in the theological views of those who burnt them to ashes.

"In this country one pharisaical restriction after another, imposed by legis-

lation, has been erased from the statute book, in the progress of religious freedom. We now come to this Sabbatical observance, as the last, perhaps,-a powerful one at any rate. If the Sabbath day be of God, it does not need legis ation to uphold it. There is no power which can prevail against it. If it is founded in the nature of man, and in the wants of animals,as its advocates declare,—then, of course, nature will triumph, and the

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Sabbath is safe. On the other hand, if it be merely a human contrivance, imposed upon us artfully, in the name of Christ, . . . it is for you and me, if we profess to be followers of Christ or lovers of freedom, to speak the truth in regard to it, and deny that it has

any special claim to religious venera-

"Why should we attempt to legislate upon a question of this kind? Observe how many differences of opinion prevail, honestly and sincerely, in the world, respecting it! Does any one doubt that the Seventh Day Baptists are sincere? Are they not honest, courageous, self-sacrificing men, those who stand out against the law and public sentiment for conscience' sake? The men, even though they err, who are true to their consciences, cost what it may, are, after all, those who are ever nearest to the kingdom of God. They desire only to know what is right, and they have the spirit in them to do what is right. The great mass of first-day Sabbatarians-do they not claim to be conscientious and sincere? And the

Quakers, who regard no day as in itself, or by divine appointment, more holy than another,—who will question their honesty or sincerity in this matter?

"Here, then, are widely conflicting sentiments; but which of these parties shall resort to the arm of violence to enforce uniformity of opinion? The case is easily settled by making it our own, my friends. It is . . . based upon the declaration of Jesus,

would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Now there is no Seventh Day Baptist who would wish to be proscribed for his views, of course. There is no first-day Sabbatarian who wishes a majority to get into the legis-



William Lloyd Carrison

(Continued on page 20)

In 1776, "liberty" was a word to conjure with. Perhaps no other word outside of religion rallied more cohorts to its cause, and demanded of them more of sacrifice and idealism than it did. But it was a word that fired the imaginations of the stouthearted all over the world, and they gathered together in the new land of America to build a government on this ideal. In a century and a half this nation became the greatest nation in modern history.

If, however, in this century and a half trial period of democracy there have been shortcomings, if there has been graft and corruption in public life, if gangsterism and lawlessness have at times apparently gained an upper hand, if there has been a certain amount of ruthlessness in the material building of the nation, if the country has not looked after its spiritual destiny as it might have, if the perfect democracy has not been realized, it has not been the fault of the basic ideal upon which the government was founded, but rather the fault of human weakness. Man is capable, through some divine instinct,

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of conceiving noble thoughts, and rallying to an ideal; but when he

tries to make the ideal practical, he smears it with his own imperfections. But because the ideal has been smeared, it is no fault of the ideal, nor is it any worthy reason that man should not strive for a greater and fuller realization of the ideal.

Despite the fact that democracy may have fallen short of the ideal that the founders of the United States had for it, yet it is also a fact that life in America has been freer and more abundant for millions of people than anywhere else in the world. This has been something worthy of the efforts of the founders, and something very much worth preserving.

Now there appears on the heels of a great depression the tendency to sacrifice liberty for security. Europe has almost wholeheartedly gone in for this method. Dictators rule most of that



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LIBERTY, 1935

Phallenge AMERICA

y Russell Quinn

continent. But the peculiar strain of liberty that runs through the

American people has made them look for another way out. The descendants of those who blasted their way to freedom in a new world cannot throw off the heritage of liberty as easily as the descendants of the stay-at-homes. Nor do they want to. They are looking for a way that will preserve liberty along with economic security, even if it be the harder way.

The President has given direction to this groping, and termed it the New Deal. And looking facts in the face, it seems that America's future will lie somewhat within the structure of the New Deal. In the complicated economic structure of modern civilization the government will probably have to play a more important part in the balancing of the different factors to attain the general welfare of her people, than it

in advancing along these lines the dangers to liberty are almost infinite. Eternal vigilance should be increasingly maintained.

Because economic hardship is a present condition and immediate relief a thing greatly to be desired, there is danger that liberty may be overlooked in the haste to attain security. And because present America has not known what it means to be without liberty. the value of it may pale in the blinding rays of hope streaming from the Elysian fields of economic security. The playwright, Maxwell Anderson, in his play, "Valley Forge," has Washington say to his men, when they are starving and freezing to death in the hills of Pennsylvania, "This liberty will look easy by and by when nobody dies to get it."

And so in fashioning the new economic structure, the New Dealers should never forget their dual purpose,—that of preserving liberty along with economic security. We think it would not be presumption, but merely a constant reminder, to have placed in every government office in Washington a quotation from the founding docu-



THIRD QUARTER

ment of the Republic as to the function of this government: "To promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The fathers of the nation, even in their early day, recognized the duty of government to promote the general welfare; but along with it they decreed that this particular government—the American government—should also "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." That was what was to make it different from every other government in the world.

The way out for America must be along these lines. It must maintain the balance between the general welfare and the blessings of liberty. Nor is it enough that the liberties granted the people by the Constitution be turned over to benevolent hands. No matter with what benevolent intention, if by precedents and laws the mechanism for a dictatorship is set up, it will eventually act to crush liberty. For it is a two-edged sword, and if it can act benevolently and bring material happiness to the people, it can, in the hands of those willed that way, act ruthlessly and take away that happiness. History gives the odds overwhelmingly in favor of the ruthless dictator as against the benevolent.

The great danger in finding this way out is, of course, that America will become impatient. It will be a long pull and a hard one along this road; but if it is really what America wants, there are enough brains and stout hearts in the country to take her out this way. While the American government comes from below, the nation will get what it wants. It will be the spirit of the American people that will determine what method to take. As an editorial writer in Collier's magazine (February 9) stated, "Our laws sought to perpetuate liberty because the people responsible for it cared passionately for it." And as long as the American people care passionately for liberty, they will

find their own way out of this economic morass, and still preserve the fundamentals of the Constitution. But if they lose this passionate love for liberty, or content themselves to sacrifice it for material security, then they will lose liberty itself, and no outward form can give it life.

Tennessee Legislature Upholds Democracy

Preachers Uphold Intolerance

THE Commercial Appeal of Memphis, Tennessee, in a masterful editorial, upholds religious liberty and democracy relative to a law just enacted by the Tennessee Legislature governing the actions of men concerning Sunday observance. The editorial reads as follows:

"From Nashville comes the news that Governor McAlister has signed the Sunday movie bill.

"This bill, it will be recalled, simply provides that when and if four fifths of the governing body of any city or town is of a mind, it may by proper ordinance license the operation of motion-picture theaters on Sunday. The bill is rooted in the very fundamentals of local self-government, and even goes far beyond the ordinary majority rule by requiring the assent of 80 per cent of the governing authority instead of the usual 51.

"Governor McAlister considered the matter as purely a legislative function. And yet we are told that numbers of protests were received by him, asking him not to sign the bill.

"Regardless of his action in signing it, and regardless of what the public thinks of motion pictures, the mere fact that protests were sent presents an interesting study. In this study, the fact that it is a motion picture bill is incidental. It could well be any other kind of bill with a similar set of circumstances. The point is, why the protest? What is the psychological background?

"To put it plainly, by what process of reasoning did these persons who protested reach the conclusion that the people of Memphis, for instance, should not have Sunday movies if 80 per cent of them so decided? What is their attitude toward popular government, and what is their idea of freedom of thought and action as expressed through the avenues of self-government? What possible reason could a resident of Knoxville give for asking the governor to deny to 80 per cent of the people of Memphis

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the right to say whether they wanted Sunday movies? For that matter, what reason could a Memphian give who would deny this privilege to his four neighbors down the street?

"Either we are losing our passion for demo cratic government, or the answer is to be foundelsewhere. Democracy means the rule of the people. It would be as easy to weld the proverbial wooden handle to the silver spoon as to attempt to reconcile the attitude of the protesting few to any theory of popular government based upon the will of the people."

The preachers and ministerial associations from all parts of Tennessee vigorously protested the passage of this bill, which, of course, they had a right to do. But since the bill has become a law, their opposition to the law still persists, and the reasons they give for opposing this law are purely religious, and deny a majority rule even of 80 per cent of the citizens. They evidently believe that just a handful of preachers of their own persuasion should have the exclusive right to tell the rest of the world how it should observe Sunday under the penal codes.

The Ministerial Association of Memphis, through its legislative committee, sent a petition to Governor McAlister, saying:

"We are opposed to Sunday movies. . . . We believe that the church is entitled to a fair field. Sunday is the church's day. For twenty centuries Christendom has accorded Christianity the right to carry on its work unhampered by mercenary and inimical distractions."

If the Christian churches that observe Sunday should have a monopoly of Sunday and by legislation bar all secular activities on that day, then why should not the Christian and Jewish churches that observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath have a monopoly of Saturday, and have a right by legislation to bar all secular activities on that day? What is fair to one must also be considered fair to the other. If the churches have a right to close up the theaters and movies on Sunday because they have a monopoly of the day, then the theaters and movies have a right to close up all churches on the other six days of the week on the same basis.

What is "a fair field"? Evidently the Reverend Charles H. Spurgeon, the great Baptist preacher of London, if he were living today, would not agree with the Tennessee preachers on the definition of "a fair field," for Spurgeon said:

"I am ashamed of some Christians because they have so much dependence on Parliament and the law of the land. Much good may Parliament do to true religion, except by mistake. As to getting the law of the land to touch our religion, we earnestly cry, Hands off! Leave us alone! Your Sunday bills and all other forms of Act-of-Parliament religion seem to me to be all wrong. Give us a fair field and no favor, and our faith has no cause to fear. Christ wants no help from Cæsar. I should be afraid to borrow help from government; it would look to me as if I rested on an arm of flesh instead of depending on the living God. Let the Lord's day be respected by all means. and may the day soon come when every shop will be closed on the Sabbath, but let it be by the force of conviction, and not by the force of the policeman; let true religion triumph by the power of God in men's hearts, and not by the power of fines and imprisonments."

Evidently the Tennessee Ministerial Association has forgotten the early history of the Christian church. There have been no "twenty centuries" during which the Christian church has been protected by law on Sunday from "mercenary and inimical distractions." The first Sunday law ever enacted was by Constantine in 321 A. D., and then the day was set apart in honor of the pagan religion instead of the Christian. For more than three centuries after the founding of the Christian church there was no compulsory Sunday observance of any kind. The Christian churches of the first three centuries made the greatest progress in history without a single Sunday law upon the statute books and with the Roman government solidly arrayed against the Christian church.

Another thing that the ministers of Tennessee have forgotten is the Bill of Rights in the Tennessee constitution. That Bill of Rights expressly states:

"No human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishment or mode of worship."

And the constitution ends with this:

"The Declaration of Rights . . . shall never be violated on any pretense whatever. And to guard against transgression of the high powers we have delegated, we declare that everything in the Bill of Rights contained is excepted out of the general powers of the government, and shall forever remain inviolate."

Surely when the preachers of certain sects request the legislature to compel all citizens to observe Sunday under the penal codes, they are violating the constitutional provision of the Declaration of Rights, which expressly states:

"No preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishment or mode of worship."

If the State legislature should enact a Saturday law at the request of the seventh-day Sabbatarians, we apprehend that the Sunday-observing preachers would immediately brand the proposed legislation as sectarian and giving "preference," "by law," to the "mode of worship" of the Sabbatarians.

How long will it be before the golden rule is recognized by Christians? The Tennessee Legislature has done well in allowing the people to repeal these antiquated religious and intolerant laws. It is the American way of getting rid of bad laws which are a contradiction of our American ideals of civil and religious freedom for every man.

C. S. L.

William Lloyd Garrison on Sunday Laws

(Continued from page 15)

lature to pass laws against the observance of the first day of the week as the Sabbath, or who would not vehemently protest against it. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' and the religionist who is not prepared for this, is to be associated with the scribes and Pharisees of a persecuting age. He is one who joins in the crucifixion of Jesus as a blasphemer.

"In this country we tolerate all religions, but must not tolerate all views with regard to a holy day! Why not? If we tolerate the greater, why not the less? We had better begin at the beginning. Let us tolerate none but the true religion, and no other worship than that of a triune God. Let us have no Jews, no idolaters, no Catholies! We are Protestants; we are evangelical; ours is the true God, ours the true religion; and it is all-important for the welfare of the world, that the true religion should be promoted. Therefore, be it enacted by the legislature, that only the Protestant religion, in its evangelical form, be allowed on the American soil!

"But we do not do this. It is not a crime, in the eye of the law, for a man to make as many idols as he chooses, and to worship them. It is not a crime, in the eye of the law, to reject the doctrine of the Trinity. Time has been when it was a capital offense to deny the monstrous dogma of transubstantiation as held by the Church of Rome, and the denial carried the heretic to the stake. We tolerate everything, excepting the opinions of men with regard to the first day of the week! . . .

"Some of you doubtless remember what a hue and cry was raised by the religious press and the clergy, at the proposition to amend that portion of the constitution of Massachusetts which required persons to be taxed for the support of public worship somewhere. But the spirit of religious liberty came up, and said, 'That is tyranny, and the law ought to be, aye, must be repealed.' What was the response of the evangeli-'This is an infidel movecal press? ment! This is an attempt to overthrow Christianity!' And it prophesied that, just as surely as the proposed amendment should be adopted, public worship would be sadly neglected. Well, the constitution was altered, in this respect, notwithstanding this selfish outery. Is there less of public worship than for-

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merly? The clergy have never been so well sustained as they now are, and no one laments the change.

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"Now, the outery raised against the repeal of all Sabbatical laws, as an infidel movement, is as absurd, as preposterous, as libelous, as the other; and will be found so when those laws cease to be in force. . .

"Let us be careful how we trample on human liberty or human conscience. Said the apostle, 'Every one of us must give account of himself'—not to the legislature of Massachusetts, not to the Congress of the United States—but 'to God.' Let God, then, not man, rule over us.

"I hope the recommendation contained in one of the resolutions will sink deep into the hearts of all here,—namely, to petition the several State legislatures for the abrogation of all Sabbatical laws. Let the first day of the week stand on its own basis, as the second or third days stands, and I am satisfied that it will be much more rationally observed than it is now. . . .

"It is not profane men, immoral men, who are specially interested in this Far otherwise! They are movement. glad, indeed, of any holiday on which to indulge their animal propensities; but they who go forward in a cause like this, must be reformers in principle, and they will assuredly find the evil in the world not with them, but against them. They will find priestcraft on the one hand, and the rabble on the other, joining in a common persecution. Jesus was crucified, not by the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees alone, but it needed the populace to join with them; and then they could nail Him to the cross, as they did, between two thieves, for this among other reasons, that He was not of God, because He did not keep the Sabbath day!"

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A MAN who is too weak to survive unjust criticism is destined to become a cynic.

Religious Conviction More Powerful Than Coercion

TWO Columbus, Ohio, newspapers, the Ohio State Journal and the Dispatch of the same date, March 19, took the newspaper reports of the relation of the Nazi government to the Protestant churches as occasion for editorials on the religious rights of individuals.

Says the Dispatch:

"Hope is not the only thing that 'springs eternal in the human breast.' A scarlet thread that runs through the whole fabric of mankind's history was woven into it by blood shed in defense of liberty.

"For political liberty men have died on many a battlefield and sighed in many a dungeon; but for liberty of religious faith and practice, an army of martyrs have endured the stake and rack, the lion's gory mane, and every refine ment of torture invented by hate. . . .

"Hitler could not use a week to better advantage than to spend it in earnest study of how more powerful and more prudent rulers than he, after the most bloody and strenuous expedients of suppression, failed to extirpate that instinctive stubbornness with which man clings to his demand to worship his God as his conscience prescribes.

"John Wycliffe in England, John Knox in Scotland, Martin Luther in Germany, John Huss in Bohemia, John Calvin in Switzerland, and a cloud of other witnesses bear overwhelming testimony to the truth that religious tolerance is not only magnanimous, but wise, and that religious tyranny courts destruction."

From the State Journal we quote:

"It is dangerous to attempt to control consciences and religious beliefs. The great wonder of the Romans, as they burned and sacked Jerusalem, whose people were starving to death by thousands, was that the unfortunate victims preferred death to the eating of forbidden meats, or the desecration of their Sabbath, or the defiling of holy places.

"Christians, to furnish amusement for Nero and his friends, were placed in the arena with wild beasts, or burned to death, or sawn asunder, and they submitted to such tortures rather than deny their faith. . . .

"One of the reasons why America; almost from its discovery, attracted so many fine immigrants, was that here, on this new continent, men would be free to worship according to the dictates of their individual consciences, or to refrain from worshiping; and it was the most natural thing in the world that the Constitution of the United States should guarantee that here should be no compulsion in religion; no union

of state and church, and that all should be free in the matter of conscience and belief."

It is well for rulers to remember that the most precious thing that man can know is liberty. It seems strange, with all the history of the past open to men of today, that any one could think that opinions may be formed by force. Force may make hypocrites: force may make martyrs; but force, even blind, cruel, ruthless force, can never convince the mind.

Opinions may be changed by education, by the presentation of facts. Persuasion may be useful in preparing the mind to give a careful hearing for facts. But coercion can never, never change a conviction. When will men learn this?

H. H. V.

Protestants Have Trying Times in Germany

THE New York Times of March 9, 1935, published a manifesto issued by the Confessional Synod's Brotherhood Council, representing hundreds of thousands of the Protestant clergy and laity throughout Germany, which the officials of the German government forbade to be read publicly in the churches. The Protestant clergy, however, read it to the churches, and many were arrested and imprisoned for doing so.

The leaders of the Protestant churches in Germany are opposed to the dominant control of the new state church of Naziism which the government has set up and put in control of the Reich Bishop Ludwig Mueller. This new state church and its national religion which has been formulated by the Nazi government, the Protestant leaders of the opposition claim is nothing but national socialism manifesting itself in a form of idolatry that threatens to sacrifice Christianity and religious freedom in Germany "to the doctrine of totalitarianism, blood, and soil."

The Protestant leaders protested, and pointed out the dangers in this manifesto, as follows:

"We see for our people a deadly danger. This danger consists of the new religion.

"The first commandment states: 'Thou shalt have no other gods before Me.' The new religion is disobedient to this first commandment.

"First, through this religion a racial and nationalist view of life has become a creed. Through it, blood and race, people, honor, and liberty have been raised to the level of divinity.

"Second, faith in an eternal Germany which the new religion requires, has been put in the place of faith in an eternal reich of our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

"Third, this fool's faith induces man to make God in his own image. According to its creed, man himself honors, saves, and redeems himself.

"Such superstition has nothing to do with positive Christianity. This is the creed of an antichrist.

"The state's power and sovereignty are solely a gift from God, who alone founded and preserves human authority.

"Whoever places blood, race, and nationality in place of God, the Creator, destroys the state's foundations.

"Earthly sovereignty mistakes the purpose of its heavenly Judge and Protector, and the state itself loses its right to demand obedience when it clothes itself with the character of an eternal reich, and makes its authority the final instance in all fields of human life and activity.

"Therefore, the church dares not bow blindly to the totalitarian demands of the state which the new religion has created. Bound to God's word, it is her duty to witness the omnipotence of Jesus Christ, who alone is empowered to bind and relieve human conscience. To Him alone is given all power in heaven and earth."

This is the first time any organized German group has had the courage to oppose publicly the totalitarian principle upon which the Nazi state and system of society are founded. Saxony's Nazi governor has adopted toward Protestants opposing the swastika program the same policy that drove the early Christians in Rome into the cata ombs. He has decreed that no religious service may be held in an ordinary hall of other public meeting place.

Since the German Christian bishop of the state church of Saxony, with police aid, has expelled about half the pastors in his diocese from their church buildings for opposing his program, parishioners probably will have to gather in the future in private homes or out of doors. Religious freedom and liberty to publish freely and speak on religious matters are denied to the citizens of Germany.

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Legal Religion Anti-Christian

(Continued from page 11)

expression, as well might a man attempt to lift himself by the straps of his boots as to elevate himself morally without the divine power that comes alone from God. And what one man cannot do for himself in this respect, no number of men can do for him. God alone knows the heart, and He alone can change the character. Civilization is not morality. The most cultured are sometimes the most corrupt. Social customs and civil laws may, in fact do, restrain, but they do not transform. God alone has power to create a new heart and to renew a right spirit.

But the natural man cannot receive this. His trust is in the arm of flesh; and even when he fails, he does not turn to the true Source of strength, but tries, by allying himself with a multitude of his fellows, each as weak as himself, to do, not only for himself, but for the whole mass of humanity, what not a single individual can do for himself.

And not only is this hope vain, but it causes men to lose sight of the only true source of moral power, the Lord Jesus Christ. It is for this reason that when men attempt to aid the gospel in any way, except by teaching it in the power and demonstration of the Spirit of God, they only hinder it, and blind the minds of men to the great truth given as a parting injunction to the disciples by our Lord: "Without Me ye can do nothing." Governmental religion is always and everywhere a negation of this truth, and is therefore anti-Christian.

THE easy way to avoid separating the good from the evil is to declare all things rotten, and then choose the evil way.

Scrapping of Liberty Fraught With Dire Consequences

(Continued from page 6)

ligion is being brought down to the same level as the manufacture of steel or the digging of coal or the price of milk. The common welfare is made to eclipse the question of eternal life. Religion in its best sense is being warped to mean merely a social uplift.

In Germany we see the net results of thus enforcing the surrender of individual religious liberty. The national government classifies each citizen as being either Catholic or Protestant, and prescribes just how far each may go in his religious practices and retain his allegiance to the state. Personal choice is not a consideration.

And in our own land of boasted liberty we find that in a like effort to sustain the "common good" a continuous effort has been made to include religious dogma in the various NRA codes. Some local State codes have made religious practices a part of their NRA codes in open contradiction to the national requirements. The fact that a person may have conscientiously observed another day as the Sabbath has been entirely ignored in the NRA arrangement of hours to be employed in labor; and in defiance of the God-given rights of man, labor organizations have tried and are still endeavoring to override the consciences of many relative to which day should be recognized as the true Sabbath of Jehovah. A national movement is on foot to bring about a calendar change which in itself would mean the elimination of the distinct rights of conscience.

Thus we see on every hand a determined movement to crush the free choice which is the heritage of every man, and an effort to make force take the place of a conscientious regard for the right. Let us beware.

THE rule of law ends where that of conscience begins.—Napoleon Bonaparte.

A Lutheran Minister's Views on Sunday Laws

BY REV. HERMAN BIELENBERG

I ADVOCATE the abolition of all Sunday laws.

Our government is in no sense a religious institution, and is therefore to make no laws respecting any religious day or observance, and Sunday is a religious day.

American citizens ought to be free to do as they see fit on Sunday, the day for rest and recreation, as well as for worship. Harmless amusements ought not to be taken away.

Religious laws are discriminatory and dangerous. The Jew has as much right to insist on Saturday laws as we do on Sunday laws. The laws of the land must be impartial.

I believe that my convictions of voluntary Sunday observance are based on principles in full harmony with our American government and its liberties.

Sunday is a religious day of a certain division of religious people. Others worship on Saturday (Jews, Seventh-day Adventists). To pass Sunday laws and enforce them is to violate the liberty of a certain class of people. Sunday observance should be a thing of love, and not of law. No God-pleasing observance can come about by a State law. You can't legislate a man into heaven nor cram religion down a man's throat.

Before the law the atheist has the same legal rights as the Christian. If he is an atheist by conviction, it is foolish and wrong to try to force an outward observance upon him by statute. He is far more liable to rebel against religion than to become religious. Christ wants His kingdom to grow by the preaching of the gospel; by conversion of man's heart, not by the policeman's club.

Even among Christians there is much misunderstanding over what constitutes proper Sunday observance. Personally, I feel free to fish on Sunday. I have done so and expect to do so again. To close theaters, concert halls, etc., on Sunday is to force a false interpretation upon some good Christian people. Let each individual decide for himself what to do, and then do it, instead of saying, "Let my conscience be your guide."

In itself, fishing is about as harmless and decent a diversion as exists in America. Just what makes fishing a hideous sin on Sunday? Why should any citizen oppose fishing on Sunday?

The law recently passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature does not propose compulsory fishing on Sunday; it only aims to legalize it for those who wish to fish. If the law would compele to take their rod and reel and go fishing on Sunday, they might find some cause for opposition. But not so; it proposes to grant the liberty and freedom which Americans ought to have, and which no government or church ought to take away from citizens. Some citizens work during the week and Sunday gives them the only opportunity to enjoy a wholesome diversion.

Permission should be given, and for any one to oppose it, is to oppose something innocent and harmless. It is an unwarranted interference with the rights and privileges of American citizenship to tell people what they can do and what they cannot do on Sunday, or Saturday, or any other day.

There are grave dangers that lurk behind the Sunday blue laws, or any form of religious legislation. To any one who has studied the subject of religious legislation, it is clear that its proponents, when confronted with defeat, have adopted many unworthy subterfuges. Thus it is claimed such laws are a benefit to labor, etc., whereas only one thing matters, to force men to form.

It is also clear that the laws of Pennsylvania with regard to Sunday are of religious origin, designed to force religious opinions and convictions and observances on all citizens, with utter disregard to their personal convictions. Repeal of all such antiquated and un-American laws is a matter greatly to be desired. A start was made last year. Any stumblingblock placed in the way of repeal of the Sunday blue laws is a hindrance to personal freedom and liberty. Our country must grant equal liberty to Christian and atheist, Jew and Gentile.

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Is it not possible that the conservation argument to preserve the fish was just another subterfuge behind which backers of Sunday legislation hide? There are numerous ways open to the conservationist. Why not close on two or three week days? Why not shorten the season? If the streams were properly cared for and abundantly stocked, these streams would supply an abundance of fish for all Sunday fishing which the residents might see fit to enjoy. The streams could certainly not be depleted by twenty-five Sundays of fishing. If the argument were presented that the season be confined to twelve Sundays only for the purpose of conserving the fish, the religious element of intolerance and bigotry would assert itself at once, and conserving the trout would be a minor consideration.

My only reason for writing is to uphold something more valuable than all the trout or bass in our State—the noble and basic principle of the separation of church and state freedom of conscience, and liberty of action. Between the two, fish or liberty, I would prefer the latter.

There are hundreds of people who agree with the principles just enunciated, and there are many who hold an opposite view. The exact proportion is uncertain. Certainly a referendum upon this question is a fair way of deciding the matter.

None Man More

TOLERATION is int/lerance camouflaged and counterfeited, assuming the right to be tyrannical in withholding the grant of a natural right.

Protestants Oppose Parochial Aid From Public Funds

A SPECIAL committee from the Cleveland 'Church Federation, representing 300 churches and more than 300,000 Protestant parishioners, declared its opposition to the parochial school bill because it would "undermine and ultimately destroy the public school system," and because it "violates the American principle of complete separation of church and state," and "denies the principle of religious liberty."

The text of the report opposing the Catholic parochial school bill, introduced into the Ohio Legislature, calling for an appropriation of \$5,000,000, reads as follows:

"The Davis bill now before the Ohio Senate proposed to appropriate public funds for Roman Catholic parochial schools. This bill is being supported both editorially and in the news columns of the *Plain Dealer*, the *Press*, and the *News*.

"The Protestants are not opposed to parochial schools as such. These are private schools organized ostensibly for the purpose of secular education, but really for the purpose of teaching the religious tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. Protestants and Jews have similar schools. Wherever and whenever sectarian groups set up such private schools for religious education, they alone should maintain them.

"We would call attention to the fact that this is not the first time that the Roman Catholic Church has urged the diversion of State funds for the use of their parochial schools. It has been done repeatedly in times of prosperity, when no financial emergency existed.

"Unalterably Opposed

"But the Protestant mind is unalterably opposed to the payment of public State funds for the support of private church schools of religion, be they Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Christian Science, communist, or any other, and for the following reasons:

"1. To give public funds for parochial schools means to surrender the principle on which the American school system has been hased.

"What is that principle? The law provided the public school for universal education fostered and supported by a general tax levied on all taxable property for the system of secular education. Its aim is to prepare all the children of the nation for citizenship. When the state inaugurated the policy of general taxation for secular education only, it then gave, and now gives, a definite promise in the law itself to all the citizens of both religious and nonreligious belief, that the public funds shall never under any circumstances be diverted for any other purpose than the teaching of the public school curriculum, which was to be purely and exclusively secular, so that all citizens, irrespective of their religious and nonreligious beliefs, might stand on an equality before the law. The infidel and the religionist were thus assured of equal privileges before the law.

"2. Protestantism is opposed to state aid to the Roman Catholic parochial schools because if one religious group is allowed to dip its hand into the public coffer for financial support for the purpose of teaching its religious tenets to its children, then three things will inevitably result: First, those who hold divergent religious views and those minorities who hold no religious views must contribute to the support of a parochial school system which teaches a religious faith which they do not themselves accept. Second, if the state allows the Roman Catholic Church to dip into the public coffer and take the taxpayers' money, then the state must allow the infidel, the atheist, the communist, to dip into the public funds to teach their dogmas to their children, unless it is proposed to select one communion and make it the state church. And third, the hand, even in the name of an emergency, once allowed in the public treasury, will not be voluntarily withdrawn. To force it out later on will be more difficult than to keep it out.

"Calls Plan Destructive

"3. Protestants are opposed to state aid for Roman Catholic parochial schools or any sectarian or private schools because the granting of such aid will undermine and ultimately destroy the public school system. Protestants do not want, nor will they willingly submit to, a complete reversal of the theory and practice of our public school system under the guise of an emergency measure. If an emergency exists, then the Roman Catholic Church should meet that emergency in precisely the same way the Protestants are meeting a similar emergency in their schools of religion.

"4. Protestants are opposed to state aid of parochial schools because the Ohio constitution (Article VI, Section 2) specifically prohibits the use of any part of school funds of the State by any religion or other sect. Morever, public taxes can be levied and appropriations of public funds made only for public purposes. The parochial school is not a public purpose, but a private school organized, maintained, controlled, by the Roman Catholic Church.

"5. Protestants are opposed to state aid of

Roman Catholic parochial schools because the Davis bill violates the American principle of complete separation of church and state, it denies the principle of religious liberty, it contradicts the American ideal of equal privileges for all, and if passed, will destroy the friendly feeling that has been and is being fostered between the various religious groups.

—The Protestant Church Federation of Greater Cleveland. Committee: Dr. R. Sharpe, Harold C. Phillips, Don D. Tullis, W. W. T. Duncan, Francis M. Hall, F. D. Butchart, Chester Burge Emerson."

The LIBERTY magazine is in perfect accord with this protest. We know many Catholics who believe that the Catholic Church would suffer far more harm from such an un-American procedure than the financial benefit it would derive from state appropriations. The Catholic Church is today suffering more harm in Mexico than all the good it ever received from state aid in that country. The Catholic Church is passing through a similar experience in Spain.

Why are Catholics so slow to learn that it is its own unwise course in church and state relationships that is bringing these political humiliations and disasters upon their church? It never pays to accept financial favors and legal sanctions from the state. It serves as a boomerang, with terrific aftereffects.

The Catholics in Ohio are playing with political and religious dynamite, and courting trouble. They must not be surprised when anti-Catholic organizations spring up like mushrooms in the night to oppose their raids upon the State funds and their political aggressions as a church organization. Such religious animosities are unfortunate in any community, and have the tendency to retard church unity and amity, as well as civic and religious progress. But effect follows cause just as surely as night follows day.

Let us profit from the lessons of the past, and keep church and state completely separate and independent of each other. That is the only wise and safe course.

C. S. L.

Sunday Blue Law Rampant in Kentucky

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L. 1935 CIRCUIT JUDGE J. S. SAN-DUSKY, of the districts of Pulaski and Wayne Counties, Kentucky, issued an order to the citizens to "keep the Sabbath day holy," which reads as follows: "No work or business shall be done on the Sabbath day except ordinary household offices, or other work of necessity or charity."

The commandment to "keep the Sabbath day holy," does not refer to Sunday—the first day of the week, but to Saturday, the seventh day of the week. The Bible, the authorized and up-to-date dictionaries, and the most recent court decisions, all hold that the term "the Sabbath day" refers to the seventh day, and not to the first day of the week. But Judge Sandusky meant it to apply to Sunday. It is just as logical to call Wednesday or Friday "the Sabbath day" as to apply it to Sunday.

In Monticello, Kentucky, according to an Associated Press report, "tobacco products, candy, and soft drinks, except with meals, were not sold." If a tourist stopped at a drugstore to buy a soft drink to quench his thirst on Sunday, he was also compelled to buy a sandwich in order to obtain the soft drink, "as a part of the meal." He is not required to do this on Monday or any other day of the week. Why should a man be required on Sunday to eat between meals, contrary to the rules of health, when he desires to quench his thirst only? Why is it a criminal act to sell a soft drink by itself on Sunday, but all right to sell it in connection with a meal? Why is it criminal to sell raw potatoes on Sunday, but all right to sell cooked potatoes? Why is it wrong to sell a loaf of bread or a pound of butter on Sunday, and not wrong to sell a buttered sandwich?

Who does all this fine theological hairsplitting about what is proper and improper on Sunday? All this is based on the Puritan theology of colonial

times, when we had a union of church and state. Many of these Puritanical religious blue laws are still retained upon the statute books of the various States. Especially is this true in the Southern and New England States, where Puritanism and Episcopalianism dominated the colonies as State religions. These blue-law shackles and relies of a dead past are very difficult to shake off. Occasionally some religious zealot of the Puritan type is elected or appointed to public office, and he takes advantage of his office to enforce his own personal religious convictions upon all dissenters, under penalty of the civil codes, forgetting that a civil officer or magistrate, as such, should remain strictly neutral upon all religious questions and obligations in dealing with the citizens of the State in administering the civil law and equal justice.

These religious laws contravene the constitution of Kentucky, which expressly provides: "Section 5. No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious sect, society, or denomination; nor to any particular creed, mode of worship, or system of ecclesiastical polity; . . . and the civil rights, privileges, or capacities of no person shall be taken away, or in any wise diminished or enlarged, on account of his belief or disbelief of any religious tenet, dogma, or teaching. No human authority shall, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience."

Certainly compelling a Jew, a Seventh-day Adventist, or a nonprofessor of religion to observe Sunday in every minute detail as prescribed in the present Sunday law of Kentucky, by not allowing him to work on Sunday, except in household duties, or to drink a soft drink at a soda fountain without also buying "a meal," is taking his "civil rights" from him, and imposing a "particular creed" upon him, contrary to the Kentucky Bill of Rights. The constitution of Kentucky is para-

mount to any statute that contravenes the fundamental law of the State. The constitution recognizes the supremacy of "the rights of conscience."

"Gasoline Stations Must Close on Sunday"

THE above notice was published in the Nashville Banner, April 6, 1935, in large type across the page of the newspaper, and what followed underneath demanded that all citizens "observe the Sabbath [Sunday] as a day of rest and a day of worship." J. L. Foster, chief of police, said that "automobile owners can help by not patronizing gasoline stations on Sunday." He urged, "Don't assist law violators."

This public official undoubtedly had good intentions when he urged his fellow citizens to observe Sunday "as a day of rest and a day of worship," and there would be no reason for complaint if he had done it as an individual; but when he did it as a public official and in the name of a "public official" as "chief of police" of Nashville, Tennessee, he allowed his religious zeal to get the better of his proper functions as a public officier. A public official should officiate and function only in civil matters, and remain neutral relative to religious obligations.

It is true that the city council of Nashville passed an ordinance closing all gasoline stations in that city on Sundays, and the police are under duty to enforce the law; but it is not the duty of the police, as such, to require anybody "to observe the Sabbath [Sunday] as a day of rest and a day of worship." That is the function of the preacher, not of the policeman.

There is no more reason for a city council to close gasoline stations on Sunday than that they should open them by law on Monday. As well might a city council compel people to go to church on Sunday, as they used to do in Puritan New England, or fine husbands for kiss-

ing their wives on Sunday, as they did in Boston. A bad and foolish law which violates every principle of justice and right, and contravenes the constitutional guaranties of religious freedom, should be repealed, and not enforced. The sooner our country gets rid of such foolish and antiquated religious ordinances as they have in Nashville, the better it will be for the welfare of the State and the advancement of the cause of religion.

European Liberties Well-Nigh Crushed

RECENT article in the Editor and Publisher pointed out that "less than 26 per cent of Europe's population enjoys anything that remotely resembles personal liberty and freedom of expression and conscience." This statement was graphically illustrated by a shaded map showing the countries where absolute or limited censorship exists. The only white spaces were France, the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Czechoslovakia. Three hundred and sixty million people in Europe are living under this black pall of various kinds of dictatorship and regimentation.

It is a spectacle which takes us straight back to the thirteenth century. It is simply the obvious and outward manifestation of the general antiliberal trend of the postwar generation, the universal craving to be ordered, bullied, and disciplined in the name of theological, militaristic, and political mumbo jumbo. These conditions are not the cause but the symptom of the decline of liberalism.

The failures of liberalism are admitted, and most readily by liberals themselves, since it is their own ideals that are at stake. But those failures are as nothing beside the bloody wreckage and dark desolation which have ever been the concomitants of absolutism, blind obedience, and obscurantism in all its forms. The virtues of liberalism, of free thought,

of humanitarianism, have never been more effectively illustrated than in Europe today, as she stumbles blindly along the road which can lead only to the New Middle Ages.—Article, "The New Medievalism," by Ernest Boyd, in Scribner's Magazine for January, 1935, p. 48.

News and Comment

Hauling Flour a Crime

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JUSTICE CLEMENTS, of Petersburg, Virginia, the State long known for sponsoring the cause of civil and religious liberty, fined J. T. Mooring \$10 on March 25 for loading an automobile truck with flour while the merchandise was being transferred from a railroad freight car to the automobile. Why should the court hold this to be a criminal act? Because it was done on Sunday. But an act that is immoral and criminal on one day is so on every day. It was a religious offense, and not a civil misdemeanor of which he was guilty. How long will Virginia uphold a State religion?

Civil Liberty Frustrated

JUSTICE HARRIS S. BIRCHFIELD ruled, April 1, against Sunday moving pictures in Roanoke, Virginia, ending, at least temporarily, a two-week fight between ministers of the city and theater managers. The judge held that the defense did not show that "the operation of theaters on Sunday is an absolute necessity." Neither is automobile driving for pleasure on Sunday a necessity. Neither is amateur baseball, tennis, croquet, and the smoking of cigars or reading Sunday newspapers "an absolute necessity" on Sundays. What is it that forbids everything on Sunday but absolute necessi-Nothing but a sectarian creed. A Sunday law does not prohibit criminal acts, but nonreligious conduct.

Sunday Card Playing

An Associated Press dispatch from Greensboro, North Carolina, says that the people of the city can now play a quiet game of bridge in their homes or public places on Sunday without being considered criminals in the sight of the law. The city council recently revoked an ancient ordinance that made it "unlawful to play any kind of card games on Sunday."

Why is a card game a crime on Sunday and not on Monday? There is only one answer to that question, It is not a crime on either day. What is criminal or immoral on one day of the week is such on every day, and what is civil and moral on one day is so on every day. Religion alone defines what is sinful and nonspiritual, but such requirements cannot rightfully be enforced by the civil magistrate under a government that has separated the church and the state.

Sunday Show Bill Passed

THE governor of New York signed a bill to allow the legitimate theater to give performances on Sunday. The law requires the theater owners and employers of actors to grant all employees and actors to have one day of rest in seven. It is generally agreed that Monday will be granted as the day of rest if the employees so elect. Heretofore, movies, vaudeville, and minstrel shows were allowed on Sundays, but not the legitimate theater.

Ma Ma Ma

WE call special attention to the very excellent poem on our back cover page. It will bear not only careful reading, but deep study. The flag is not only a military emblem, but is first of all the emblem that stands for the principles upon which our government is founded; and those principles were by our fore-fathers set forth in our national Constitution; therefore to stand by the flag in the true, fundamental, and truly patriotic sense, is to stand by the Constitution.

Two Sunday Observance Bills Killed

BILL was introduced into the Cali-A fornia Legislature to c'ose barbershops on Sunday, but the bill was killed in committee. Another bill was introduced into the Oregon Legislature to prohibit business and labor of certain kinds of enterprises on Sunday. legislature finally made it a one-day-restout-of-every-seven bill, without specifying on which day of the week people should rest. This leaves the individual to choose whatever day he wishes for rest. It eliminates the religious aspects involved in compelling all citizens to rest on Sunday, irrespective of what their religious faith may be.

Both California and Oregon in recent years repealed all their Sunday observance laws, and have now substituted in their place a one-day-rest-in-seven plan, guaranteeing to each employee one day off each week, and leaving it with the employee to choose his own day of recreation and rest. This is as it ought to be. The state should not prescribe a citizen's religion for him. Religious obligations are not within the purview of civil government to regulate or enforce. state should enact civil laws only to govern the relations of man with man, but not attempt to regulate his relations with God and religion. The conscience is the only criterion in religious matters.

Restaurants Battle Sunday Closing

THE restaurants of Lancaster, Ohio, plan to battle the movement which aims to close them on Sundays. Restaurant men hold that so long as they do not sell anything stronger than 3.2 beer, they cannot legally be forced to close on Sunday. The force of their argument is that 3.2 beer is nonintoxicating according to an Act of Congress and the decision of the courts, and consequently they can legally sell it on Sunday the

same as they sell soft drinks, coffee, and tea. It will be of interest to know how the courts will decide the restaurant cases, and get out of this dilemma of prohibiting the sale in restaurants of nonintoxicating beverages and at the same time allowing the sale of other nonintoxicating drinks on Sunday. Heretofore the religious element has always entered into Sunday prohibitions.

Sunday Ban Clamped Down

A WRIT of mandate was issued by Superior Judge Roscoe R. Smith, of Seattle, Washington, to close on Sunday all theaters, football and baseball games, billiard and pool halls, and food stores, heretofore allowed to operate in that city on that day. The writ grew out of resentment of beer parlor operators against enforcement of a 1909 Sunday blue law which had been invoked against them alone.

This bears out the trite statement, "A Sunday law is a spite law," and is seldom used for any other purpose. When a Sunday observer who is cursed with a spirit of intolerance rather than blessed with a spirit of charity, beholds his neighbor observing Saturday as his day of rest, he is tempted to take out his spite on his dissenting neighbor by lodging a complaint to the law officer for the arrest of his conscientious neighbor who observes another day as hely time. Business competition uses the same spite weapon as does the bigoted religionist.

GOVERNMENT by bureaucracy means government by arbitrary authority and the denial of constitutional prerogatives to the people.

A TRUE Christian is one who, whether it serves his convenience or not, stands solidly for Christ without mental reservation.

Fifty Noted Men Plead for Religious Freedom

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FIFTY prominent New Yorkers signed a protest against attacks on religious liberty abroad and in this country. The fifty signers included public officials of New York City, judges, lawyers, bankers, and prominent merchants of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. Among the signers were Mayor La Guardia, Alfred E. Smith, John W. Davis, Bainbridge Colby, judges of the Court of Appeals, Edward R. Finch, and Irving Lehman. The text of the protest reads as follows:

"Taking cognizance of attacks in various nations upon freedom of conscience, the undersigned Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish laymen unite in public emphasis upon the fundamental truth, deducible from human experience, that the destruction of religious liberty is followed by the destruction of social, economic, and political liberty.

"Human freedom can have no greater foe than the doctrine recently announced by the ruling authority of a neighboring country,—that the government 'must enter into consciences and take possession of them, the conscience of the children and the conscience of youth.' Such doctrines are contrary to the principles of our government. They presupose and proclaim the hypothesis of an absolute state, which would destroy all individual life and relationship, and which forces action, speech, and conscience into an iron mold shaped by the will and interest of personages who gain control of power.

"Such hypothesis is the enemy of the fundamental principle championed throughout our history and essential to democracy, that the right of the parent to direct the training and to nurture the conscience of the child is an inherent right of man; and that each individual has the inalienable prerogative through freedom of religion as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States to enrich his ideals and aspirations in this land of freemen.

"While refraining from comment upon the political issues or social or economic problems of other lands, we nevertheless feel it our rightful privilege and regard it as our sacred duty, since the preservation of the world for liberty of conscience is the common concern of all mankind, to give and to ask full moral support for those who labor anywhere for the cause of freedom of conscience, of worship, and of religion.

"We believe that that deep, abiding faith in men as men, whatever their race or religion, which is the very soul of all liberty and of all democratic institutions, lives by faith in one Father of all mankind; and that any political attempt to destroy religion as such, endangers the cause of all human freedom everywhere.

"We realize that these principles have had their attempted denials on the part of some persons even in the United States. This very realization shows the need of vigilance everywhere in order to keep clear the truth that the welfare and progress of humanity require full preservation of religious freedom."

What vitally affects the inalienable rights of the human race in one country deeply concerns the people of every country where fuller liberty is enjoyed. When one member of society suffers, all suffer. No one's rights are secure unless all are safe. Civil rulers need to learn that they cannot ride roughshod over the rights of the minority in religious matters, without stirring up a protest from the members of religious societies of every faith everywhere.

Ma Na Na

"American Lutheran" Opposes Blue Laws

THE American Lutheran, representing the American branch of the Lutheran Church known as the Missouri Synod of Lutherans, contained the following interesting statement on religious liberty in its February, 1931, issue:

"We disavow and repudiate the interference of self-appointed leaders in the church with the personal liberties of the community. We have no sympathy with the blue laws or any attempt of the church to govern the life of the whole community by the laws of the few. That is tyranny, and violates the fundamental principles of our government and national life.

"But there is an infinitely worse bondage, one which has much more to do with a man's real happiness and enjoyment of life, that is the bondage of sin. From this we would deliver men in the only way it is possible to deliver them,—by the gospel."

If every religious organization adhered to these principles, what a wonderful place this world would be to live in! It would eliminate religious persecution from the annals of every nation. It would multiply the adherents to the church a thousandfold. The church is losing tremendously in prestige and in-

fluence because of its constant meddling with religion and politics in a legislative way. More strength to the arm of the Lutheran Church of the Missouri Synod in the preaching of the gospel to set sinners free from the bondage of sin.

Opera Under Sunday Ban

Three officials of the Chicago Opera Company were prosecuted for presenting grand opera at the old Hippodrome Theater in New York City, on the charge of giving a Sunday performance. The New York State Sunday law allows movie and vaudeville shows, but prohibits opera. How a Sunday law can make fish out of a vaudeville performance and fowl out of an opera on Sundays, is beyond our comprehension. We may be dull, but that makes it all the worse for the Sunday law advocates.

Resist Paying Tithes by Law

IN the year 786 the English government passed a law exacting one tenth of the proceeds of every farm for the benefit of the state church. In certain counties in England, the state is still attempting to collect the tithes for the benefit of the state clergy of England. The farmers are resisting the paying of the tithes to the clergy under duress of the civil magistrate.

Recently Evelyn Balfour, leader, was arrested for leading and inspiring the egg-throwing farmers against the tax collectors of tithes, in protest against the archaic tithe law. Lady Balfour is the owner and manager of New Bells Farm, Suffolk, the daughter of the present Earl of Balfour, and niece of England's famous war-time figure, Lord Balfour. She does not believe that the farmers should be compelled to pay tithes to the clergy. She thinks that a religion that cannot support itself without state aid is a sham. She also believes that the only way to obtain repeal of a religious law that is

oppressive, is for the people to refuse to honor it. If every taxpayer would refuse to pay a religious tax imposed by the state, the civil authorities would soon see that such unchristian and injust laws are repealed. Every citizen has a right to protest against the incursions of the state into the religious realm.

Sparks From the Editor's Anvil

A BIGOTED religion always seeks refuge in a legal creed.

Gor's good and great men were not perfect men, but sinners redeemed.

Nothing is so dangerous to religious liberty as religious zeal without knowledge.

THERE is hope for the persecuted as long as religious persecutors are in the minority.

THE freedom of the press is never restrained but by dictators and despetic governments.

THE greatest happiness in life comes not in possessing liberty, but in the joy of fighting for it.

A BOUNTIFUL tree has many clubs and stones thrown at it, while the barren tree stands unmolested.

EXPERIENCE is an exacting teacher that imposes an expensive tuition charge for the lessons of folly.

A GOVERNMENT that destroys individual initiative must be prepared to hand out a dole to its citizens.

In representative government, a bureaucracy always precedes tyranny, and tyranny precedes tyrants.

No person is worthy to be trusted with the heritage of religious freedom who is not willing to defend it.

The rule of tyranny always precedes the making of tyrants, instead of the making of tyrants preceding tyranny.

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

- 1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
- 2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
- 3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
- 4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
- 5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
- 6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
- 7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
- 8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
- g. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
- 10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, C. S. Longacre; associates, H. H. Votaw and M. C. Taft), or any of the affiliated organizations given below:

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Atlantic Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Connecticut): Office, South Lancaster, Mass.; Sec., J. K. Jones.

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Central States Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Wyoming, Iowa, and North and South Dakotá): Office, 4547 Calvert St., College View, Lincoln, Nebr.; Sec., J. F. Piper.

Columbia Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland): Office, 507 Flower Ave., Takoma Park, Washington, D. C.; Sec., F. H. Robbins.

Lake States Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin): Office, Drawer C, Berrien Springs, Mich.; Sec., W. H. Holden.

North Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Alaska): Office, Box 598, Walla Walla, Wash.; Sec., E. K. Slade.

Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Hawaii): Office, Box 146, Glendale, Calif.; Sec., W. M. Adams.

Southern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Alabama, Mississippi, North

and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee): Office, 4502 Brainerd Road, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Sec., S. A. Ruskjer.

Southwestern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas): Office, 1019 North West 20th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.; Sec., R. L. Benton.

Affiliated Organizations Outside U. S. A.

Canadian Religious Liberty Association: Office, 209-212 Birks Bldg., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada; Sec., M. N. Campbell.

Australasian Religious Liberty Association: Office, "Mizpah," Wahroonga, New South Wales, Australia; Sec., A. W. Anderson.

African Religious Liberty Association: Office, Grove Ave., Claremont, Cape Province, South Africa; Sec., J. I. Robison.

Central European Religious Liberty Association: Office, Regensburger-strasse 22, V. Berlin W. 50, Germany; Sec., H. F. Schuberth.

Northern European Religious Liberty Association: Office, 41 Hazel Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex, England; Sec., L. H. Christian.

Southern European Religious Liberty Association: Office, 49 Ave. de la Grande Armée, Paris 16, France; Sec., Dr. J. Nussbaum.

Philippine Island Religious Liberty Association: Office, Box 813, Manila, Philippine Islands; Sec., E. M. Adams.



Stand by the FLAG!

By Sallie Feild Bernard Davis

The winds of God blow exceeding fierce.

Stand by the flag!

He's whirling the chaff
That's fallen away
From threshing and fanning
Through heat of the day;
And who will now rally
And who will make bold
To take a grip on
The staff that will hold?

Stand by the flag!

So few there are
Who see the light,
While hordes would plant
The cursing blight
Of communist creed
Or socialist plan
On our government formed
For the freedom of man.
Stand by the flag!

Great God of our fathers
Who heeded Thy will,
As suppliants now,
We lift eyes to the hill
Whence cometh our help,
Make known Thy will,
As we stand by the flag!

